2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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I did the fieldwork on which this study is based at this period in Malta's constitutional history. A new constitution was promulgated late in 1961, and elections took place in February 1962. In place of dyarchy, it provided for 'concurrent powers' on foreign affairs and defence to be held by the Malta Government and a United Kingdom Commissioner.

The first Maltese political parties were born out of the controversy over language which followed the publication in 1880 of the Keenan report on education. This recommended that English should be taught in place of Italian in the primary schools, although students might later take Italian as an elective subject. In the Lyceum and the University, except for the Faculty of Theology, all work was to be done in English. These recommendations, which the government tried for many years to implement, weakened the dominant position which Italian had enjoyed in the educational system. As Italian was the language of the law courts, the clergy and the University, it was something of a class symbol. Most of the educated classes, and especially the lawyers and priests, strenuously resisted the move to downgrade it in favour of English. Many of the refugees from the Italian wars, who came to Malta after 1850, gave encouragement to the partisans of Italian. The Italian movement also whipped up considerable support amongst the clergy and their parishioners by declaring that English would certainly bring with it increased Protestant influences.

The dispute thus created interest groups which were to dominate Maltese politics for the next fifty years. On one side was the pro-English, or *riformista*, party led first by Sigismondo Savona, later the Director of Education, and subsequently by Count (later Lord) Gerald Strickland. This party, which generally supported government policy, favoured close cultural and political ties with Britain. By the 1920's, it became known as the Constitutional Party. Its successor, the Progressive Constitutional Party, is led by Strickland's daughter, Miss Mabel Strickland.

The *anti-riformista* or pro-Italian party was led by Dr. Fortunato Mizzi and later by his son, Dr. Enrico Mizzi. The Nationalist Party eventually emerged out of this group, and today, although the language issue is quite dead, it is still one of the two major political parties. Both parties campaigned for support in the villages and thus, for the first time, forcefully presented national

political issues to the masses.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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000 political issues to the masses. The pro-Italian group came to
197 dominate the elected members, and blocked the affairs of govern-
648 ment to such an extent that Britain re-established the official
668 majority.
[665] Britain did not succeed until many years later in implementing the recommendations of the Keenan Report. The language of instruction in the primary schools remained English or Italian, at the option of a student's parents – the so-called '*pari-passu*' system. In 1921, Britain attempted to remove language from the political arena by stipulating in the new constitution 'that nothing shall be done by way of legislation or administration which shall diminish or detract from the position of English as an official language or to reduce its use in education or in the public service.'[1]

197 For the first six years after the 1921 Constitution was promul-
665 gated, the government was in the hands of the political groups
668 which eventually merged into the Nationalist Party: Monsignor Panzavecchia's 'Unione Maltese' and the 'Partito Democratico Nazionalista' led by Enrico Mizzi. The newly-formed Labour Party at first supported the Nationalists, but later became a firm ally of Strickland's Constitutional Party. Monsignor Michael Gonzi, now Archbishop of Malta, was a representative of the Labour Party until he became Bishop of Gozo in 1924. During this early period, the only serious political skirmish occurred, not surprisingly, over the 1923 Pari-Passu Bill by which the Nationalists introduced both English and Italian as compulsory subjects in the elementary schools. Strickland attacked the bill on the ground that it made no provision to teach Maltese, the language of the masses. He maintained that without a firm knowledge of their own language, children could never learn two foreign
[648] languages at the same time. Although the British at first declared that this act was contrary to the spirit of the constitution, it was allowed to become law.

665 The Constitutional Party, supported by the Labour Party, won
666 the 1927 general elections, and Strickland became Prime Minister. The elections, however, were marred by an incident which embittered the relations between Strickland's supporters and their opponents. On the day before the election, the Nationalists circulated thousands of copies of a perjured affidavit which declared that Strickland was a Freemason. Although the perjurer, a

[1] Section 57.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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[p.97]

CHAPTER VII

National Politics and the Village

In the last few years issues of national policy have taken an increasingly important place in the villages alongside the purely parochial ones we discussed in the preceding two chapters. Divisions based on opposed political ideologies are now reflected in the groups and associations in which people spend their time. The major division which cuts across all Maltese villages is based not so much upon rivalry between political parties, as upon the present conflict between the Malta Labour Party and the Church. But as has been observed, conflict between the Church and a political party is not new to Malta. It also existed during the late 'twenties and early 'thirties.

The dispute between the Labour Party and the Church is essentially a struggle for power. Dom Mintoff, the Labour leader, accuses the Archbishop Gonzi of siding with Britain to maintain Malta's colonial status, and with interfering in politics by attacking the Labour Party and its leaders. In its 1962 Electoral Manifesto the MLP proclaims the right of a person 'to fulfil his civic duty without pseudo-religious interference'; sees as a crime 'any interference with the right of a democratically elected majority to implement the people's mandate', and advocates the 'abolition of medieval privileges which have retarded [the country's] social and economic progress.'[1] The Church sees this not only as a direct attack on the basic right and duty of a bishop to teach and to guard the morals of his flock,[2] but also as a move to destroy its traditional position in Maltese society. In particular it fears that if the Labour Party were returned to power, it would enact legislation which would render the Archbishop liable to prosecution before the criminal court if he were to comment on the political issues of the day.

These opposing views are expressed in the slogans written on

[1] See Appendix B for the 1962 MLP Electoral Manifesto.
[2] Cf. William E. Addis and others, '*Bishop*', *A Catholic Dictionary*, pp. 80 ff.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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even try to remove him from office. But they do not attack the office itself. In contrast, a revolution aims at changing not only the office-holder, but also the nature of the office and the social order in which it functions. Though the Malta Labour Party has strongly criticized the Archbishop and the clergy, often in insulting language, for their refusal to endorse its integration scheme, and, later, its demands for independence, it has never suggested that the office of archbishop should be abolished or the Church suppressed. The Church, however, attacks Mintoff as though he were bent on overthrowing the established social order in general, and the Catholic Church in particular. The extremely severe sanctions that it has directed against the MLP and its leaders reflect this point of view.

There is a very real danger that this strong medicine may kill the patient, for there is evidence that the MLP's anti-clericalism is in fact becoming anti-Catholicism, and the rebellion a revolt against the Church. Some of the more extreme, educated Labour supporters are showing a growing interest in the ideologies of countries which have fought successful battles against the Church. Though the great majority of the Labour supporters would still like to be devout Catholics, a small but increasing number are beginning to question the social order. As one remarked to me, 'I'm regarded as a Communist by my neighbours and the Church, which denies me its sacraments. Have I anything to lose by becoming one?' Though Communist literature rarely finds its way into Malta, since it is illegal to send it in the mails, a number of persons have begun to listen regularly to Radio Moscow. A few are even discussing the possibility of joining another church.

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But in spite of this bitter conflict, Maltese villages are still tightly united communities, life goes on and the social order does not disintegrate. Considering everything, there has been relatively little open violence between the supporters of the Church and the Labour Party. If occasionally there was some, it was most often caused by or directed against outsiders, either those who married into the villages, or who were imported for some special occasion from other villages. The battle between the Gozitans and the Maltese Labour supporters was an extreme case of this kind. But

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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of 1936, which superseded the original self-governing Constitution of 1921. In 1946 Sir Harold MacMichael, a distinguished retired administrator in the Middle East, was invited by the British Government to formulate detailed proposals for constitutional reform after consultation with the National Assembly. His recommendations[1] provided for a Legislative Assembly of forty members elected on a system of proportional representation and led to the re-establishment of self-government in September 1947.[2] But some responsible elements regretted that they made no provision for the Second Chamber or Senate which had existed under the Constitution of 1921.

The elections gave Malta the first Labour Government in its parliamentary history, under Dr (later Sir) Paul Boffa; this made way in 1950 for one formed by the Nationalists, whose earlier dismissal had led to the suspension of the Constitution in 1933.[3] The new Government was headed—for such are the vicissitudes of politics—by the veteran pro-Italian Enrico Mizzi, who had been interned in East Africa during the war and died in December 1950, three months after taking office. In 1951 his successor, the Nationalist Dr G. Borg Olivier, formed a Coalition with Dr Boffa's "Malta Workers' Party"; this Coalition remained in power until defeated in 1955 by the Left-Wing Labour Leader, Mr Dominic Mintoff,[4] a former Rhodes Scholar who had been Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction in the Boffa Ministry but seceded from his former chief in 1950.

Already in the time of Dr Borg Olivier there had been inaugurated a series of talks in London between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Maltese Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition on proposed changes in Malta's

[1] Published in 1947 as Colonial No. 207 and analysed in the White Paper "Malta: Statement on Constitutional Reform (Comd. 7014) of Jan. 1947."

[2] See p. 137.

[3] See pp. 135–137.

[4] Mintoff is a variation of the name usually spelled Mintuf, which is the Maltese word meaning 'plucked.'

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

642 constitutional status. The British Government had felt
648 unable to accept the Nationalists' request for Dominion
668 status and the transfer of responsibility for Malta from the Colonial to the Commonwealth Relations Office; but neither Party regarded as adequate the British counter-proposal for the removal of Maltese affairs from the Colonial to the Home Office. In 1954 the British Government suggested all-party talks, to be held in London, and Mr Mintoff accepted the suggestion on assuming office in February 1955.

64 Mr Mintoff now put forward the novel proposal that
668 Malta, while retaining its local autonomy and local Parliament (with power to legislate on all matters other than defence and external affairs), should be "integrated" with the United Kingdom and be represented in the House of Commons at Westminster by not fewer than three Members elected in accordance with United Kingdom electoral laws. The British Parliament's reaction to this interesting suggestion proving generally sympathetic, the Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, announced in July 1955 that a Round Table Conference consisting of representatives of all political parties at Westminster would be convened for its consideration. The Round Table Conference of seventeen members (including Lord Attlee, Mr A. Bevan and Mr Clement Davies) under the Chairmanship of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir, held twelve plenary sessions in London and three in Malta. Its Report was published in December 1955.[1] The Conference concluded that Maltese representation at Westminster was "practicable and reasonable" and recommended its acceptance by Her Majesty's Government and Parliament if also accepted by the people of Malta.

64 A referendum to ascertain the wishes of the Maltese was
666 held—somewhat prematurely as was thought by some—on
668 the 11th and 12th February 1956. The figures of the referendum showed:

[1] As Command 9657.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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in favour of integration	67,607
against	20,177
invalid votes	2,559
votes cast	90,343

As the names on the Electoral Register totalled 152,583 the number of those who refrained from voting was 62,240; and it was assumed that most of the abstentions were due to the misgivings of the Church, which, if not openly hostile to the plan, was certainly not articulate in its favour. Obviously, too, the implications of the proposal far transcended purely constitutional issues: the entire Maltese economy was involved, with inevitable changes in the standard of living and economic consequences for good or ill difficult to forecast. Such terms as "parity" and "equivalence" were added to the slogans of the day.

Those opposed, for one reason or another, to Integration as propounded by Mr Mintoff argued that the poll, although showing a majority *of those voting* as in favour of the proposal, had certainly not resulted in the clear, unmistakable overall majority envisaged as necessary by the Round Table Conference. Her Majesty's Government shared this view to the extent of deciding that the Maltese electors should have another opportunity to pronounce themselves on the subject. On the 28th March 1956, after a debate in the House of Commons, Sir Anthony Eden announced the Government's intention of implementing the Round Table Conference Report in a Bill to be drafted in two parts, the first to contain a new Constitution for Malta, the second to deal with Maltese representation at Westminster. But the Maltese people would be enabled once more to declare their views on Integration at a General Election, to be held in Malta before the United Kingdom Bill finally became law.

The position, then, by the middle of 1956 was that under the constitutional arrangements proposed by the Round Table Conference and accepted by Her Majesty's

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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64 Government the Maltese people would be represented, if
666 they so decided in a General Election, by three Members at
Westminster. They would keep their own Legislative
• 668 Assembly with an enhanced measure of autonomy since a
single Maltese Government would take the place of the
existing Diarchy; only a reduced number of matters, mainly
concerned with foreign affairs and defence, would remain
the exclusive responsibility of the Parliament and Government
[651] of the United Kingdom. The Maltese Government would
retain responsibility for taxation in Malta until such time as
the Maltese economy was held to have reached a level
comparable with that of the United Kingdom.

642 Meanwhile discussions between Her Majesty's Govern-
ment and Mr Mintoff's Administration continued with
648 fluctuating fortunes on the constitutional, economic and
668 financial aspects of the Integration policy. Here the perennial
464 difficulty remained: the conception of "economic equival-
ence" which Mr Mintoff had been holding out to his
supporters as the indispensable accompaniment of Integration
and sought to impose on Her Majesty's Government.
Negotiations were heading towards a deadlock when in
April 1957 a new element of difficulty was injected into the
situation by the visit to Malta of the British Minister of
Defence. Mr Sandys's announcement that the changes in
[504] British Defence policy and their consequential cuts in Defence
expenditure would affect the Dockyard, Malta's greatest
single employer of labour, created serious anxiety despite the
reassurance in the Minister's statement that in any future
war Malta would no longer be, as she had been in the last
one, "in the very centre of the European battle area."

464 The anxiety was real, widespread and justified, for over
668 13,000 Maltese are in regular employment in the Dockyard
504 out of a national working population of just under
83,000 and are the wage-earners for a very considerable
proportion of the total population. The Dockyard has
always been, in Mr Lennox-Boyd's phrase, "the industrial

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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[793]
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core of Malta." The average Dockyard hand did not know if his job might not come to an end by the end of the year; and representatives of all classes in the country, including the parish priests, passed resolutions pressing for a guarantee of alternative employment if the Dockyard were to close down.

In the following month the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr Lennox-Boyd, put forward a new proposal to avert the threatened deadlock. While adhering to the Integration policy, and to "equivalence" of the Maltese economy and standard of living as an ultimate aim, he proposed an experimental period or trial run of five years for the Maltese economy to approximate itself to that of the United Kingdom. During this period the British Government would afford economic assistance towards the attainment of this object, consisting of a grant of £25,000,000 over the five years; assistance with educational, health and other social services based on a percentage of what the Maltese were able to do for themselves; and an obligation to help if unemployment rose above the British level in consequence of Defence cuts. Meanwhile Maltese representation at Westminster would remain in abeyance.

Even so, Mr Mintoff was not satisfied. On the 14th December he tendered his resignation owing to a difference of opinion with a section of his supporters in the General Workers' Union but withdrew it three days later; and he then raised the cry of independence as the alternative if he failed to obtain Integration on his own financial terms. The Nationalist Opposition, which had combated Integration, proved ready to support the converse alternative, for on the 30th December 1957 their representatives in the Legislative Assembly voted for Mr Mintoff's Resolution threatening severance of the link with Britain, which was passed unanimously and with acclamation in the following terms:

> That, as the British Government is not prepared to honour the obligation assumed by that Government, in the declaration

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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668 648 of July 1955, to avoid unemployment, the representatives of the Maltese people, in Parliament assembled, declare themselves absolved from their pacts and obligations towards the British Government, and from those so far assumed towards the Allies of that Government—this position to obtain for so long as the British Government fails to guarantee that the number of persons employed by the said Government in Malta shall not decrease before there is "alternative employment" for those discharged.

On this inauspicious note ended the year 1957 despite the patient efforts of the Government in London and of Sir Robert Laycock and his advisers in Malta to bring the protracted and often vexatious negotiations to a happy issue. The latter's task thereafter was made no easier by a Circular issued in February 1958 to Heads of Departments and all other Malta Government employees forbidding them on pain of disciplinary action "to make any verbal or personal contacts on any official matter with any member of the other side of the Diarchy" without the personal permission of the Minister concerned. In April these words were extended to cover "any official matter *or otherwise*." Thereby was created the anomalous situation that the islands' officials subordinate to the Mintoff Administration had to boycott those of the Maltese Imperial Government not only officially but socially, even to the extent of declining the Governor's invitations to dinner. Be it added that the embargo was far from being universally observed, while Ministers continued to seek direct personal contacts with the Imperial side of the Diarchy whenever it suited them to do so.

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643 175 532 659 In 1608 one of the greatest and most innovating painters of the Seicento, that Michaelangelo Amerighi who was better known from his birthplace as Caravaggio, spent some months of his short and disordered life in Malta, employed

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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Government and the Church had been restored. That evening, the 21st, Mr Mintoff handed his resignation and that of his Cabinet to the Governor.

The dramatic events of the next three days were described to the people of Malta in the following broadcast made by Sir Robert Laycock on the 24th April:

"A constitutional crisis has arisen in Malta and I want to tell you how this situation came about and what it means.

"Last Monday evening, Mr Mintoff tendered to me his resignation. He refused to form a caretaker Government but agreed to remain in office until I had tried to find an alternative Government.

"But before Mr Mintoff came to see me, he had already told the people of Malta over the Rediffusion that he and his colleagues no longer wanted to remain responsible for public peace and order in Malta.

"Yet in spite of this statement Mr Mintoff remained Minister of Police. In other words, he remained the Minister responsible for law and order. As such he issued certain orders to the Commissioner of Police during the disturbances last night.

"If these orders had been carried out the Police would have found it very difficult to do their duty. They would have been at a grave disadvantage. Now the Commissioner of Police knows that I alone as Governor am ultimately responsible for your safety. He told me what Mr Mintoff had ordered and he said that, if these orders were carried out, his men would not have been able to do their job.

"The Commissioner of Police asked me what he should do. I had not the slightest doubt that Mr Mintoff's orders were a threat to the public safety and might bring innocent people into danger, and so I told the Commissioner of Police not to carry out those orders.

"This morning Mr Mintoff recommended to me that the Commissioner of Police, Mr Vivian de Gray, should be dismissed. To this I refused to give my approval.

"Last evening, as you know, I consulted Dr Borg Olivier and he informed me that he was not prepared to form a Government. This afternoon, I asked Mr Mintoff to see me

[i.e. April 21, 1958--Analyst]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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again. He came with all his Ministers and we spent two hours together. He failed to convince me that he was prepared to give the proper assurances that he would maintain law and order and I therefore accepted his resignation. 64 668

"So the people of Malta are now without an elected Government, and I, the Governor, am without Ministers. I have been forced into a position where I have had to take over control of the Administration, and I want to tell you now just what this means.

"First of all the Legislative Assembly will be dissolved and there will be a General Election at the earliest possible moment.

"Secondly, the Commissioner of Police, Mr Vivian de Gray, remains in command of the Police Force. I can tell you now that everything will be done to ensure the preservation of law and order and public safety in Valetta and indeed throughout these Islands. I trust that there will be no more disturbances and that the elections will be held in complete freedom as they should be in a law-abiding community.

"Thirdly, I want to make it quite clear that the salaries of civil servants and Government employees will continue to be paid without interruption. There will be no crisis over finance or employment.

"I appeal to you, therefore, to remain calm, to maintain law and order, and to go about your day-to-day business as usual.

"Once again I want to say with all the emphasis I can that I am determined to get things back to normal without delay. I want to repeat that free elections will be held at the first possible moment.

"Finally, I want to assure you all that the British Government and people have nothing but goodwill for the people of Malta and will do everything they can to see that you have a peaceful, happy and secure future. As Her Majesty the Queen's Representative in Malta I make that statement without reservations of any kind."

The same day were issued Proclamations dissolving the Legislative Assembly and prohibiting for a fortnight the holding of public meetings and demonstrations in Valetta and Floriana. [656]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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A post-war phenomenon from which Malta is not immune is the Teddy-Boy, whose long locks and bizarre dress as he lounges about the capital faintly recall, if only in caricature, the flowing curls and exotic clothes in which the young Disraeli postured in the streets of Valetta in 1830. A one-day general strike called for the 28th April by the General Workers' Union as a "national protest" gave these and the late Prime Minister's other lawless supporters the opportunity for widespread rioting in which they demolished walls to make barricades and road-blocks, dislocated traffic, destroyed cars and other property and stoned the Police. One of the mobs wrecked and set fire to Zabbar Police Station. Nor was illegal action confined to the mobs. These received encouragement from above; two members of the Mintoff Ministry were convicted of intimidation and had their sentences upheld on appeal. The Police, no longer impeded in the performance of their duty by political pressure, behaved magnificently and with great restraint in the face of violent and sustained provocation.

In consequence of this disorder, whereby relatively small but carefully organized gangs of hooligans interrupted the lawful occasions of the vast majority of peaceful citizens, the prohibition of the holding of public meetings and demonstrations was extended for three months and applied to all Malta and Gozo. Another Proclamation declared a state of emergency which enabled the Governor to assume wider powers for the maintenance of public order and safety. The Archbishop condemned violence in a timely broadcast.

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With the elimination of factors making for trouble the country settled down under the Governor's direct administration, and by November 1958 Mr Lennox-Boyd thought the time had come to initiate fresh discussions in London between himself, Sir Robert Laycock and the leaders

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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respectively of the Maltese Labour, Nationalist and Progressive Constitutionalist Parties, Mr Mintoff, Dr Borg Olivier and Miss Mabel Strickland. The negotiations were unsuccessful. If I now reproduce the text of another official document, it is because the Colonial Secretary's statement of the 5th January 1959, made after the talks had broken down, is the authoritative pronouncement on the chain of events which led the British Government to repeal the 1947 Constitution and promulgate a new interim Constitution to fill the gap pending the return to self-government.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS FOR MALTA

Her Majesty's Government's Plans for the Future

1. Her Majesty's Government have carefully considered the views put forward during the constitutional discussions between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the delegations representing the Malta Labour Party, the Nationalist Party and the Progressive Constitutional Party, which were held in London between the 19th November and the 21st December 1958. Because these talks failed to reach agreement on a new constitution Her Majesty's Government have now had to decide on constitutional arrangements for an interim period.

2. It will be recalled that Malta has been without an elected government since April 1958, when Mr Mintoff resigned and Dr Borg Olivier declined to form a government. At the same time disturbances threatening public safety broke out, which necessitated the proclamation of an emergency. Since then the Governor has had to use his emergency powers to govern Malta. In the situation created by these events, the Secretary of State decided to invite the three political parties to London last November to discuss future constitutional arrangements.

3. In their approach to these discussions Her Majesty's Government naturally had regard to the negotiations which had taken place over the past three years for the integration of Malta with the United Kingdom. Although the integration negotiations have not borne fruit, and none of the Maltese

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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political parties now accepts integration as an aim of policy, Her Majesty's Government felt that the far-reaching self-government which Malta would have enjoyed under integration provided a suitable basis for discussion of any new constitutional plan. The Secretary of State was accordingly prepared to discuss with the Maltese delegations at the talks a new constitution drawing its inspiration from those constitutional arrangements under integration on which there had been a substantial measure of agreement. This new constitution would give Malta self-government in most fields. Her Majesty's Government would have retained responsibility for defence and external affairs, for assuring the independence of the Police and the Public Service and for their protection from victimization. This constitution was based on the continuing close association between the United Kingdom and Malta, which Her Majesty's Government firmly believe corresponds to the wishes and interests of both countries.

4. The Secretary of State hoped that after an initial meeting with each of the delegations there could be a plenary Conference with all three delegations. That proved to be impossible.

5. The Labour Party delegation, at the two meetings held with them, and in correspondence between Mr Mintoff and the Secretary of State, took the view that any constitutional arrangements for the future must be on the basis of immediate independence or independence by 1962. They persisted in that view after it had been pointed out to them that the people of Malta would suffer mass unemployment and serious economic hardship if Malta were to become independent now or in the near future. The attitude of the Labour Party delegation made it fruitless to attempt to discuss any detailed constitutional arrangements with them.

There was a valuable general discussion on future constitutional arrangements with the Nationalist Party delegation but the Party required more precise assurances on Malta's eventual position in the Commonwealth than Her Majesty's Government were in a position to give. There was also a useful exchange of views with the Progressive Constitutional Party.

6. There is evidently no prospect at present of devising a Constitution for Malta which would be generally acceptable

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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to the political parties and Her Majesty's Government. Farther efforts must, of course, be made, and it is Her Majesty's Government's intention to hold farther discussions in due course with a view to reintroducing elected representative government. In the meantime it is desirable that the present arrangements, under which the Governor is using his emergency powers under the present Constitution to govern the islands, should be terminated as soon as possible. Her Majesty's Government have accordingly no alternative but to revoke the present Constitution and to make special arrangements of an interim character for the government of Malta. This will necessitate legislation and a Bill will be introduced into Parliament after the House re-assembles. The form of government contemplated for this interim period is one in which the Governor will be assisted by a Council on which there will be Maltese representation.

7. During this interim period the Governor with the full support of Her Majesty's Government will press on with economic development. As was recognized in the 1955 Declaration to which the Maltese political leaders subscribe, Malta depends very heavily on Services expenditure and every effort must be made to develop other sources of income. Much has already been done since 1955 in laying the foundation for future industrial development, to which end Malta has received assistance amounting to some £18,000,000 from Her Majesty's Government.

8. Her Majesty's Government's main aim in promoting economic development in Malta is to attract new industries. The 1955 Declaration recognized that this required a joint effort towards which the Maltese Government and people should make the best possible contribution from their own resources. A very important step in Malta's economic development has already been taken by the decision to convert the Naval Dockyard to a commercial ship repair yard and to develop associated industries. The construction of a deepwater harbour, the building of an industrial estate, the re-equipment of the Island's electricity supply and other public utilities, and the development of tourism are already going ahead. Plans for other development are now under examination. It is the